The Mutussi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only
the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful
and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom,
the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost
cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim
which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their rela-
tions to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds
of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues
of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike
ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that,
although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even
smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country.
Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not
translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had
their internal and external battles fought for them by their
bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves
cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations
from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions
even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this
respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda.
In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious,
violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so
servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward
the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the
lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness,
revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel in-
stincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling
Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to them-
selves. By this means alone they have created for themselves
an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also
provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
●[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

563 For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
181 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 701 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe
[556] journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

● 754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale; and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[688] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

791 The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
789 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

791 [134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
354 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
66 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitumdu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the inviaible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *murozi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kanikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

791 The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The [842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/ is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, [644] named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

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We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences," far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

[754]

1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to [173] legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

● 754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 which is no longer usable (umûsâmbi). Then they fetch a human tibia
[826] or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
[539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
[826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion. When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains, distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang' agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
[826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly," (1)
just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will [538] be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity," or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad."

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair."

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

754 684 837 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 791 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 783 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

754 The sorcerers who are reputed to unloose insects and other pests over the crops are called by the name of Abahoryo, which means "baleful men."

Popular belief indeed goes so far as to lend them this occult power, which causes everyone to fear them.

They are believed capable of the most evil designs.

In view of this, they are avoided and shunned as much as possible.

The natives will avoid carefully all matrimonial relations with them. This would entail every evil including sterility, which is not the least feared among them.

These dangerous men are believed to cast the /443/ evil eye (guter' umwaku) and are placed in the same category as the members of the Abahenyi, Abatchaba, and Abungura clans, who inspire the [578] same mistrust and the same repulsion. Thus the name Abahoryo, "baleful men," is regarded as an insult by the Abahoryo themselves.

The bahinza of the Bgishaza province have always had the reputation of excelling in the exercise of these supernatural powers. What wonders are not ascribed to them! One of them as one tradition goes, was condemned to death for some misdeed or other.

While he was being led to the place of punishment, he resorted to his occult powers. Vultures, hawks, eagles, and crows flocked instantly from every corner of the sky and descended with open beaks and claws upon the executioners and onlookers.

Filled with wonder, the Mututsi /Batutsi/ prince pardoned him.

Another time, two brothers from the same family quarreled over their sorcerer's birthright after the death of their father. When asked to interfere, the king decided that the position would go to the one who proved superior in skill.

It so happened that the dreaded caterpillars were devouring the sweet potatoes at the time. One of the men proceeded to exercise his art in order to do away with them. The other one used his power to act in an opposite way, and made them multiply without end. The caterpillars came out of the ground and covered the earth. "Now," he exclaimed to the monarch, "do you wish me to deliver you from them?"

554 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard. 789

The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions 535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara. [534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
661 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
686 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great curse, "May you die of [578] tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

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824 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

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609 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passi ng through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

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178 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro, one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

674 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison
●754 which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden
[761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's party left on the second day, after receiving presents. 585

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was regarded and treated by them as a son. [606]

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field. 595 [556]

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife, or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and leave the bed to the guest and his wife. 837

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness, the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been discovered by augury to be guilty was condemned without question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had very little chance of escape, and was always put to death. If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling the man. 754 [787] 695 683 [775] [782]

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not always the eldest son. If a man died without having named 428 [763]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1938, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[859] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her